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CANADIAN NATIVE VICTIMIZATION RESEARCH: PRELIMINARY THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The report complements another report prepared for the Ministry in 1986: "A Canadian Rural Victimization Survey: Preliminary Theoretical and Methodological Considerations". Its sources of information are published and unpublished literature and, particularly, "front line" people working with Native victims across the country. The paper's scope includes status Indians, non-status Indians, Inuit and Métis; it covers isolated and rural communities and aboriginal people living in cities.

The report examines models of categorizing Native groups for research purposes and suggests the urban/semi-urban/rural/isolated community classification for the case study approach recommended in the paper.

For many reasons research in Native communities is difficult, at best. While these problems are examined in the report, the following statement of caution is warranted at the outset: **the paper does not conclude that a standard survey of the CUVS type is feasible in the context of Native victimization.** The reasons fall into three general categories: political, logistical and "cultural".

A research framework/strategy based on four intensive and integrated community case studies is outlined. Advantages to the case study approach are discussed and requirements are outlined.

Finally, the case study approach is linked to the Native Victims Developmental Project within the Ministry and to ongoing work in the Department of Justice.

Seven recommendations are contained in the report. They are as follows:

Recommendation 1:
That the Ministry undertake the study of Native victimization, victims' needs and service development through intensive, integrated community level studies.

Recommendation 2:
That the Ministry employ a community case study approach, rather than attempting a nation-wide sample survey by telephone or mail.

Recommendation 3:
That the Ministry undertake case studies in four communities, selected according to the urban/semi-urban/rural/isolated breakdown.

Recommendation 4:
That the Ministry meet with representatives of selected communities to establish terms of reference, and to agree on project control, accountability, the responsibilities of all parties, and the end use of study results.

Recommendation 5:
That the Ministry contract four principal researchers to undertake the research, analysis and reporting functions concurrently in the four selected case study communities; and that the Ministry provide funds for hiring two research assistants to be selected by community representatives in each study community.

Recommendation 6:
That the Ministry undertake the recommended case studies as the next phase in its Native Victims Developmental Project.

Recommendation 7:
That Ministry officials engage in ongoing consultation with their counterparts in the Department of Justice and other governinent departments to identify and carry out as effectively as possible relevant research and program development.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	i
CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER TWO DEFINITION OF NATIVE GROUPS	4
A. "Native" Defined	4
Status Indians	4
Non-status Indians	5
Métis	6
Inuit	6
B. Socio-Demography and Geography	7
Introduction	7
General Native Population Characteristics	9
Customary and Contemporary Groupings	10
(i) Language and Ecological Grouping	10
(ii) Contemporary Cultural Differences	13
(iii) National/Provincial/Regional Organizations	14
(iv) Economic Variability	15
(v) Urban/Semi-urban/Rural/Isolated Categories	17
CHAPTER THREE DIFFICULTIES INHERENT IN NATIVE VICTIMS RESEARCH	19
A. Cultural Factors	19
B. Logistical Factors	22
C. Political Factors	23
CHAPTER FOUR A RESEARCH FRAMEWORK AND STRATEGY	25
Requirements for Case Studies	30
CHAPTER FIVE SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS AND LINKS TO OTHER STUDY INITIATIVES	32
REFERENCES	34

CHAPER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Government of Canada has initiated a process of policy formulation in the area of crime victims. As part of that process the Ministry of the Solicitor General has undertaken the Canadian Urban Victims Survey (CUVS) which, although providing the basis for insight into the experiences and needs of urban victims, has not dealt directly with rural and Native victims. This paper is intended to address the latter by studying the potential for a Native victims' survey, as well as its theoretical and methodological requirements.

The reader is referred to two related papers produced for the Ministry in 1985: "A Canadian Rural Victimization Survey: Preliminary Theoretical and Methodological Considerations" and "Native Victims in Canada: Steps Toward Appropriate and Effective Assistance".

The special problems posed by political, logistical and cultural factors for Native research are raised, particularly as they would pertain to any attempt at a sample survey by telephone or by mail. A sample survey is not recommended for Native victims' research.

Those three factors have the effect of making social research in Native communities a very different exercise than in non-Native communities. This is particularly true when comparing rural communities with cities, where political, logistical and cultural factors do not present the same blocks to research among Native people that they do in the country. As a result, researchers and planners

involved in the area of Native victimization must be prepared to take a significantly different approach than the CUVS. That is not to say, however, that researchers cannot estimate the extent of crime and victimization in Native communities.

The reader is again referred to the report entitled "Native Victims in Canada: Steps Toward Appropriate and Effective Assistance". At this early stage in the developmental process, that paper's primary message is that the development of victim assistance services must be done on a community-by-community basis due to the uniqueness of context, needs and potential solutions in each community. That is not to say that preliminary data collection and analysis cannot be done; it does mean, however, that a standard type of sample survey probably would not result in adequate response rates.

The scope of this paper includes the following categories of people: status Indians, non-status Indians, Métis and Inuit. It covers isolated and rural communities and Native people living in cities.

The sources of information for the report include published and unpublished literature, and discussions by telephone or in person with a number of people in the federal government and in the communities and cities working with Native victims. This "front line" group includes victims, social workers, health care workers, NNADAP workers, courtworkers, lawyers and politicians, among others.

This paper begins with the definition of "Native". It then looks at broad socio-economic and geographic characteristics of the Native population and discusses various models for categorizing Native groups. The implications of political,

logistical and cultural factors are raised. In light of the foregoing discussion, a usable typological framework is established and recommendations are made for data collection on the basis of that framework. Possible research strategies are examined. Finally, the research as described is linked to the Native Victims Developmental Project within the Ministry and to work within the Department of Justice.

CHAPTER TWO

DEFINITION OF NATIVE GROUPS

A. "Native" Defined

Beginning with the first Indian Act of 1876, there has arisen a complicated and, to a large extent, culturally inappropriate means of categorizing Native people. There are significant implications associated with this breakdown, particularly in terms of contemporary Native political organization and the relationship between Native people and the wider Canadian social system. The categories are status Indian, non-status Indian, Métis and Inuit.

Status Indians

Status Indians are registered under the Indian Act. As members of Bands (designated under the terms of the Act), they are entitled to live on reserves and to have their educational, health and welfare needs handled by the federal government as represented by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Loss of status through marriage (in the case of status Indian women marrying non-status Indians or non-Natives) or other forms of "enfranchisement" result in the loss of the social benefits listed above and can, depending on individual Band policy, result in removal of the right to live on the Band's reserve.

Presently, there are 573 Bands and slightly more than 300,000 status Indians in Canada. As of 1980, approximately 30 per cent of status Indians were identified as living off reserves (Canada, DIAND, 1980).

Non-status Indians

Non-status Indians are those individuals who have been denied registration status under the Indian Act and who therefore are not members of Bands. This categorization has resulted from voluntary or involuntary "enfranchisement" or from the patrilineal rule implicit in the Act; i.e., (a) that an Indian woman marrying a non-Indian or non-status Indian man, or (b) that the child of a non-status Indian or non-Indian father, regardless of the status of the mother, automatically will be denied status. This is a particularly difficult issue about which the government passed new legislation in June 1985 (Bill C-31). The legislation opens the door for many people to retain status who otherwise would have been denied it. As well, many women and their children are now regaining their lost status.

Reaction by Native organizations and individual Bands is mixed and not yet complete; however, it is certain that the legislation will have implications for a study of Native victimization. In particular, many women and children with newly gained status are moving back to their reserves, at least partly to take advantage of benefits such as Band housing. The extent to which individual Bands are allowing such relocation is variable; however, the potential demographic shift is significant enough to affect survey sampling if sampling were done during the period of population flux.

Métis

The Métis are a special case among non-status Indians (Valentine, 1980:67). They are of mixed racial ancestry and define themselves as a new national group deserving of special status and rights. The Métis are especially prominent in the Prairie provinces, a legacy of Louis Riel's political movement in the nineteenth century. Presently the Métis have no aboriginal land base of their own, nor are they accorded special rights by federal or provincial governments. As Valentine points out (1980:68), the Métis population has been growing in three ways: (a) through natural increase, (b) through the loss of status by Indians, particularly women and their children, and (c) through a desire by more people of mixed ancestry to claim their Métis character, rather than to continue identifying themselves as non-Native.

Inuit

The Inuit are excluded from the Indian Act and although they have no designated aboriginal land base (except that which they may acquire through land claim negotiations), their health, welfare, housing and educational needs are the responsibility of the federal government. The vastness and remoteness of many areas of the circumpolar north inhabited by the Inuit would pose logistical challenges for a victimization survey, as will be discussed later in the paper.

This paper will consider all Natives for purposes of victimization research. In terms of a survey it is important to recognize that the categorization of Natives, while primarily a political formulation, does have implications regarding movements of people. This flux is largely bound up in the status/non-status issue

that involves movement back and forth between on-reserve and off-reserve, between different reserves, and between urban, rural and isolated communities. The recent legislative change will likely result in the intensification of movement among Natives in Canada. These are factors that must be considered when designing research; they will be examined more closely below.

B. Socio-Demography and Geography

Introduction

There is little doubt that relative to Canadian society generally, Natives live in a state of marginality. Using standard criteria for the measurement of living conditions — housing, health, education, employment, and income — Natives fall short of the Canadian norm. This applies broadly to Natives regardless of whether they live on- or off-reserve, or in urban, rural or isolated settings. The comparison to mainstream Canadian living standards is somewhat misleading, however, in that it does not account for the cultural factors that often mitigate difficult economic conditions in Native communities. Extended family support and the ability to resort to hunting, fishing and trapping can mean the difference between destitution and reasonable comfort and health when times are tough (Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en Tribal Council, 1984).

As well, criteria used to judge social-economic factors are not necessarily transferable from city to reserve settings. Housing is a case in point. In functional terms, the ideal city house usually is not the ideal reserve house. The differences are due in part to family structure, lifestyle and the rigours of the northern environment (see Brody, 1981). Yet analysis of housing conditions on

reserves is typically based on city standards, often resulting in a picture of squalid living conditions, a picture that does not necessarily fit with Natives' perceptions of their own housing. There is no doubt that many Native communities need and are pressing for more and better housing. The message that they are delivering to the federal government, however, is that "better" housing does not mean city house design; rather it means appropriate house design.

The same holds true for approaching research and the design of services; both must be based on appropriate assumptions and standards that apply to Native communities, not to the urban, non-Native context.

This is not to suggest that the socio-economic conditions in which Natives live are acceptable, for clearly they are not. Disproportionately high rates of health problems, alcoholism, incarceration and suicide are symptomatic of deeply rooted social and economic problems. The point is raised, however, to suggest that there is positive potential inherent in Native cultures for dealing with those problems. In terms of victimization research, the cultural characteristics unique to Native communities (by no means the same among all) are critical. An understanding of a community's cultural make-up is necessary for two reasons. First, it will partly determine the questions to be asked. Second, it will guide the approach to be taken in asking the questions. Beyond the purposes of a survey, cultural factors will likely provide much of the basis for the development of service delivery mechanisms.

The following section first examines general Native population characteristics, then broadly-based groupings for the purpose of defining a typological framework.

General Native Population Characteristics

Presentation of an accurate, overall picture of Native population is not an easy task because statistical data pertaining to Natives are considerably less complete than those for other Canadians. Partly this results from the constant movement within the Native population and from the remoteness of many communities, both factors making accurate census-taking difficult. As well, confusion results because various federal and provincial government departments use different definitions of the terms "Native" and "Indian", a significant source of frustration given the number of departments involved with Natives. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, by virtue of its mandate to focus on implementation of the Indian Act as well as its responsibility to the Inuit, neglects to report on non-status Indians and Métis, who number over 798,000 (Valentine, 1980:79). On the other hand, Statistics Canada analyses include in the same category anyone claiming a Native language as their "mother tongue", regardless of status or ethnicity. In the Canadian census, non-status Indians and Métis are not offered special categories for self-identification. Further, while provincial and territorial governments may distinguish between Native and non-Native in their statistics, they do not make use of any further breakdown (e.g., between Indian and Inuit in the Northwest Territories).

Customary and Contemporary Groupings

There are various ways, aside from the status/non-status/Métis/Inuit distinctions, in which Natives in Canada can be grouped. This problem is important in terms of ensuring representativeness and meaningful results in research. There exist a number of definitions, some customary, as supplied by anthropologists, and some contemporary, as developed by economists, sociologists and Native political organizations. These definitions will be presented here and evaluated in terms of their relevance to victims research. Two points should be made first: (a) that the various definitions of groups are not necessarily mutually exclusive, thus leaving open the possibility of using a combination of definitions, and (b) that all four major categories of Native, i.e., status Indian, non-status Indian, Métis and Inuit, should be differentiated in any victimization study.

(i) Language and Ecological Grouping

There are 12 major linguistic groups further broken into at least 648 dialects across the country (Jenness, 1963). The degree to which the speakers of one dialect can converse with the speakers of another dialect within the same linguistic group varies. Usually the variation is determined by historical factors and is now reflected in geographic proximity. Among the extensive Athapaskan linguistic groups, for example, the Carrier Indians of Northcentral British Columbia can easily cope with their fairly minor dialectic variations; however, the Carrier would be unable to converse effectively with other Athapaskan speakers such as the Dene of the Northwest Territories. While the language roots remain common to all dialects within a linguistic group,

geographic/ecological/cultural divergence over millenia have resulted in dialects that, in real terms, are substantially different.

The major linguistic divisions are the following: Algonkian, Iroquoian, Siouan, Athapaskan, Kootenayan, Salishan, Wakashan, Tsimshian, Haidan, Tlinkit, Beothukan, and Eskimoan.

The usefulness of linguistic divisions for purposes of a survey is not significant (except in terms of interviewing). This is because language does not correspond closely to cultural variation. The Carrier of British Columbia, for example, have been and remain much closer in social, economic and cultural terms to their Northwest Coast neighbours, who belong to the Tsimshian group, than to other Athapaskan speakers. It is these criteria, of course, that are significant in any contemporary social survey.

This leads to consideration of Jenness' (1963) classification of Native cultures according to ecological-geographic variation. This simple model continues to be used in basic literature relating to Natives:

The breakdown is as follows:

1. the Eastern Woodlands,
2. the Plains,
3. the Pacific Coast,
4. the Cordillera,
5. the Mackenzie and Yukon River basins
6. the Arctic barren grounds.

Within each of the above categories there are numerous tribal groups which, alone or in some form of union, are now viewed by the groups as Native nations. It was not Jenness' intent, however, to fit contemporary political divisions into his model. The model's usefulness lies in helping to indicate that cultural variation corresponds to a large degree to ecological variation. For example, in earlier days the relatively sedentary tribes of the Pacific Coast differed markedly in political and social organization from the nomadic Cree tribes of the Eastern Woodlands and the Plains.

There are, however, limitations on the usefulness of Jenness' ecological model of cultural classification. First, it is a trite anthropological perspective that addresses Natives in the "traditional" precontact sense, referring to the days when all Natives lived off the land. While it is true that Natives generally live closer to the land than does the typical non-Native Canadian, the current relevance of an ecologically-based classification by itself is questionable. Native society has become too diversified to be categorized solely on the basis of ecology. The second and related problem concerns urbanization. According to DIAND (Canada, 1980:12), 35 per cent of status Indians live in urban or semi-urban areas. Jenness' model does not deal with the urban Native population, which tends to have little, if any, occasion to hunt, fish or trap.

In summary, Jenness' ecological model of grouping is useful to the extent that it can point to Native cultural variation along ecological lines. In this sense, a research framework will have to accommodate the model. It is too general and outdated, however, to be the primary classification tool for the purpose of defining a contemporary survey.

(ii) Contemporary Cultural Differences

By "cultural factors" we mean those traits which bind social structure together in such a way that a group of people can identify itself as a group in its own right. Examples include language, religious ideology, the pattern of inheritance, and, for present purposes, factors such as the approach to dispute resolution and the role of elders. There is overlap between groups with respect to cultural traits; for example, two Native groups might share the importance of the advice of elders, yet have different languages and different degrees of Native language usage. On the whole, however, we can view culture for our purposes here as those characteristics which give meaning and strength to social structure and which enable groups to identify themselves as unique.

In earlier times, as suggested by Jenness' model, cultural make-up corresponded generally to environmental context; thus, fairly large tribal groups could be seen more-or-less as distinct cultural groups. As contact with non-Native society progressed, sub-groups within the larger tribal areas were affected differently and adapted differently. The result has been a great variety in the nature and relevance of customary traits among localized groups.

There are risks in looking for characteristics common to Native people or communities across the country. First, there is the danger of overlooking certain significant social, economic or cultural factors that may set apart one or more communities from the majority. Overlooking such factors could have serious implications for victims' needs and assistance services in those particular communities. Second, in terms of cultural variables there is a danger of ascribing to all Natives in Canada a common culture or, even worse, a "Native

personality". On the other hand, at this very preliminary point in our understanding of Native victims' issues, we should approach the task not at an all-encompassing level but in a more limited first step that will suggest ways to proceed effectively.

Any typological framework must account for contemporary cultural factors because they are important at the community level. However, we are limited by the degree of complexity of cultural factors at the community level when designing a typological framework. We should therefore choose certain basic cultural variables that can be measured in every community and that will give a fair indication of the extent to which Native culture survives in each community. The factors we can use are these:

- the extent of Native language use in the community;
- the extent to which the extended family network operates within the community.

I would hypothesize that there is a negative correlation between cultural strength, as indicated by the above variables, and the physical proximity of Native communities to non-Native society. The latter variable will form the basis of a typological framework and is discussed below.

(iii) National/Provincial/Regional Organizations

For purposes of a victimization study, grouping people or communities according to membership in either national, provincial or regional Native organizations is not particularly useful. Since organizational affiliation tends to be delineated according to purely political criteria, this factor will bear little direct

relationship to the issues of crime and victimization. However, it will be important in the selection of communities for case study purposes (to be discussed below) that political approval be obtained from the organizations under whose jurisdictions the selected communities fall. In other words, if a Saskatchewan community belonging to the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians is chosen for in-depth study, then the FSI should be aware of the study and condone it before it commences. Beyond that, community or regional organizations should not have a bearing on the selection of communities for study.

(iv) Economic Variability

It is hypothesized that socio-economic conditions have a direct bearing on the extent of victimization in a community, as well as on the ability of a community to cope with the problem. Yet the design of a common scale measuring socio-economic conditions is difficult because of the variation in economic base among communities. For example, it is enough in cities to measure per capita income and employment. However, in rural communities the informal economy — hunting, fishing, trapping — can have a significant effect on economic stability for community members. The problem therefore is one of comparison on the same scale between communities with different economic bases.

Rather than economic variability per se, it is preferable to examine the marginality of communities. The socio-economic impact literature (Geisler, Green Usner, and West, 1982) and work on marginality (Brody, 1980 and 1983) suggest that there are a number of standard indicators of marginal socio-economic conditions at the community level that we might employ. They are as follows:

- rates of employment/unemployment in wage labour or business;
- rates of involvement in "traditional" economic activities (e.g., hunting, fishing, trapping);
- a measure of local subsistence resource availability;
- rate of required medical attention;
- main reasons for medical attention;
- rate of alcohol consumption per capita;
- separation/divorce rates;
- CAS child apprehension rates;
- educational facilities (child and adult);
- housing density;
- house standards (as determined by community);
- welfare rates;
- extent of Native language use.

Together these indicators can form a picture of marginality as well as point to specific problem areas. It is important to explain here that marginality does not refer simply to a community's socio-economic well-being relative to the Canadian standard; rather it is an indication of a community's potential for self-sufficiency and self-development, regardless of the degree to which it is involved with the wider society. For example, if a community suffers high rates of unemployment in the wage/business sector, has little or no opportunity to engage in hunting, fishing or trapping, and relies heavily on welfare, then that community's chances for self-sufficiency and local development (social or economic) are slight. Any community can be placed on a continuum of marginality, ranging from very healthy to very unhealthy, according to the picture developed through measurement of the indicators.

It is hypothesized that the degree of marginality, according to this model, has a direct bearing on the nature and frequency of violations/victimizations in the community.

(v) Urban/Semi-urban/Rural/Isolated Categories

This categorization of Native groups is the one that best suits the selection of communities for case studies, and is recommended in this report. It subsumes the variables listed above and probably corresponds to differentiation in terms of offenses, victims' needs and possible assistance services.

The categories are defined as follows:

- urban — cities in which the Native population is less than 5 per cent of the total;
- semi-urban — non-Native communities in which the Native population remains above 5 per cent;
- rural — Native communities accessible by road;
- isolated — Native communities inaccessible by road (may be accessible by air or water).

In communities where the Native population is less than 5 per cent, and especially in cities, there tends not to be an identifiable Native community. For a variety of reasons, including different cultural backgrounds, lack of access to subsistence resources, the absence of extended family networks, and generally strong pressures to assimilate, Native people living in cities are not in a position to become self-sufficient as a community, nor are they able to improve their economic lot as a self-contained community. Solutions to the socio-economic

problems facing many urban Natives will take a different form than in the other settings, listed above. Similarly, existing services designed to meet Native victims' needs in cities differ from the services in other settings.

Chapter Four discusses this typological framework in connection with the community case study approach.

CHAPTER THREE

DIFFICULTIES INHERENT IN NATIVE VICTIMS RESEARCH

The Native population in Canada is characterized by various factors that render it substantially different from non-Native Canadian society. As far as extensive social research is concerned, unique approaches will be required to deal with a unique set of conditions and potential problems. Even before that special design process begins, however, the federal government must question its motives and objectives in undertaking any social research in Native communities; for these very basic questions undoubtedly will be raised by the elected and appointed representatives of communities and organizations who are in the position of dealing with researchers representing the federal government.

It was pointed out in Chapter One that a CUVS type survey would not be practical in the Native context. Three general categories of reasons can be identified: cultural, logistical, and political. These issues are discussed in this chapter.

A. Cultural Factors

We have seen no solid evidence that a Canada-wide survey of Native people can be done effectively either by telephone or through the post. There are many reasons for this, some of which are indicated here.

First, language is a major problem. Many Native people prefer to converse in their own language. In the case of a victimization study, this is going to be

particularly relevant (a) because of the sensitive nature of the issues/questions, and (b) because a high proportion of victims are elderly people who are often limited in their command of English or French. Also with respect to the elderly, literacy is more the exception than the rule, posing additional problems for a mailed questionnaire.

Second, it has been my experience in managing census surveys and sample surveys in Indian communities (even when the researchers were local people) that many Native people, again especially the elderly, have difficulty in relating to the direct, personal nature of questions common in a survey format (Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en Tribal Council, 1984). Generally speaking, it is bad protocol in the Native context to put personal questions to someone, especially an elder, even if the questioner is from the respondent's community. In Native cultures with a strong sense of social hierarchy, such as among the West Coast tribes, asking personal questions of an individual of high rank by a person of lower rank is simply not done. Of course, a high ranking respondent may permit such questionning; however, the likelihood of silence is significant. The only way around this particular problem is to ensure that the researcher is himself a high ranking individual who is (a) known to the respondent, and (b) carries out the business in person and in a manner appropriate to the meeting of two persons of status. An "appropriate manner" usually means that an interview will take considerably longer than the same interview in non-Native society because the questions and answers tend not to be raised and answered directly. In a postive light, the additional information that supplements the required data in such an interview are usually valuable to researchers.

Again, Native reluctance to comply with the typical survey process will be exacerbated by the extremely sensitive and personal nature of the questions being raised.

Third, telephone and mailed questionnaire surveys are problematic because Native people in Canada are increasingly skeptical that further research, especially if academic or government sponsored, will result in any benefit to them or their communities. We are told constantly by community members and their leaders that Natives have been studied enough and that they now want results. This argument is valid given the amount of research over the years by academics and government officials that has had no apparent effect in terms of policy or program development. On the other hand, victims' experiences, needs and possible solutions are areas about which we know virtually nothing with respect to Native people — a basic understanding, at least, is required before we can proceed to design services. The objective in light of this dilemma is to conduct research in such a way that it is both effective and acceptable to Native people. As will be discussed in Chapter Four, this may mean a combined process of research and service design at the community level.

Finally, the variation among Native cultures across the country would prove problematic for a standard telephone or mail survey. I must assume that the Ministry will not want to restrict itself to collecting basic quantitative data such as number and type of victimization incidents. It would undoubtedly wish to include in the research specific questions that pertain to the effect of cultural factors within the context of each incident. For example, the study should include questions concerning the role played by customary authority figures in the victim's community as a result of the incident. It is important to realize,

however, that the appropriate questions must be asked in each cultural area; that is, in Northwest Coast communities it would be appropriate to ask questions regarding the role of the victim's Chief (or High Chief), while among the Dene or the Cree the question would more likely relate to the family head or the lineage head.

The advantages to this approach are twofold. First, answers to culturally specific questions would guide the development of victim services. Second, asking these questions in conjunction with the more basic questions would lessen the need for extensive research at a later date, given that the cultural information will have to be elicited at some point in the process.

A culturally appropriate approach cannot employ a single, uniform survey for two reasons: first, the questions to be asked cannot be standardized across all cultural groups; second, a telephone or mail survey will not elicit the more elaborate responses required to assist in the design of services. In that light, face-to-face interviews are the answer.

B. Logistical Factors

Obviously, distance and the remoteness of many communities makes extensive Native survey research difficult. This may apply even more to the personal interview approach than to telephone or mail surveys. On the other hand, in many communities, particularly in the far North, telephones are not located in every home. (Exact figures regarding numbers of telephones in Native communities have not yet been acquired.) As well, the problem of illiteracy referred to earlier will negatively affect mailed questionnaire returns.

In terms of the face-to-face interview approach, even a scaled-down sample of communities and respondents would prove very costly and time consuming. Airfare for researchers, northern living expenses, and the need to hire and perhaps train local people for interviewing and for translating are all items with high costs attached. Moreover, the results from this approach will not necessarily be more satisfactory than those from the case study approach to be proposed later in this report.

C. Political Factors

As suggested above, there is a common feeling among Native people that they want to see direct, beneficial results from any future research on Native issues. This is emphatically expressed by various levels of Native organizations from the national level to band and settlement governments and local Native service agencies. Furthermore, these groups usually now demand involvement in research from the design phase through to the analysis, reporting and follow-up phases. In this way, Native groups are attempting to ensure that research on their people is needed, relevant, employs appropriate methods, and ultimately is useful to them.

At the community level, it is now essential for any research to be sanctioned by the local authorities, whether a band Council or a settlement administration. Again, this is a positive development from the research perspective for two main reasons. First, an involved local government will help to ensure that the research is designed and carried out properly. Second, a supportive local government will encourage its community members to take part in the research when they might otherwise be reluctant. However, not all Native local

governments are easily convinced that new research will benefit their communities (perhaps as a result of a legacy of disruptive and nonproductive research projects). The process of establishing research credibility, acquiring legitimacy and negotiating involvement and control at the local government level will itself be costly. This is true regardless of whether a survey were to be done by telephone, by post or person-to-person.

While a process of negotiation will eventually have to be undertaken in order to develop and establish community-based victim assistance services, it is a process that will proceed more effectively if prior research and design work has been completed. In other words, local authorities will be more willing to participate in a working relationship with the Ministry if the Ministry has already acquired an understanding of Native victims' issues and the kinds of services that might work in various communities. An initial stage involving case studies will prove valuable in establishing that groundwork.

At this very formative stage in our understanding of Native victims' needs and possible service development, we should proceed with a geographically limited, but more intensive, approach to the issue than a sample survey would involve. That is, we should first consider a set of community case studies.

CHAPER FOUR

A RESEARCH FRAMEWORK AND STRATEGY

The reader is referred again to the paper entitled "Native Victims in Canada: Steps Toward Appropriate and Effective Assistance" (Canada, Ministry of the Solicitor General, 1985 draft report). That paper makes a lengthy argument for community based developmental work in the stages to follow:

> The primary conclusion arising from this stage of the developmental process is that further work and, ultimately, victim service design and delivery must be community based and must be controlled by the communities themselves. (draft report, p. 110)

The paper also outlines a conceptual framework involving five major categories as follows (for definitions, see draft report, pp. 7-12):

- violation,
- need,
- service,
- underlying socio-economic conditions that contribute to violation and victimization,
- cultural factors.

The model outlined above can be represented diagramatically as in Figure 1. Underlying marginal socio-economic conditions set the stage for the commission of violations against individual and community. Violations create individual and group victims who have certain needs as the direct and indirect results of the violation. Certain services exist now and those can be further developed to meet victims' needs. Existing cultural factors at the community level can be applied to the effective development and operation of victim services as well as to the

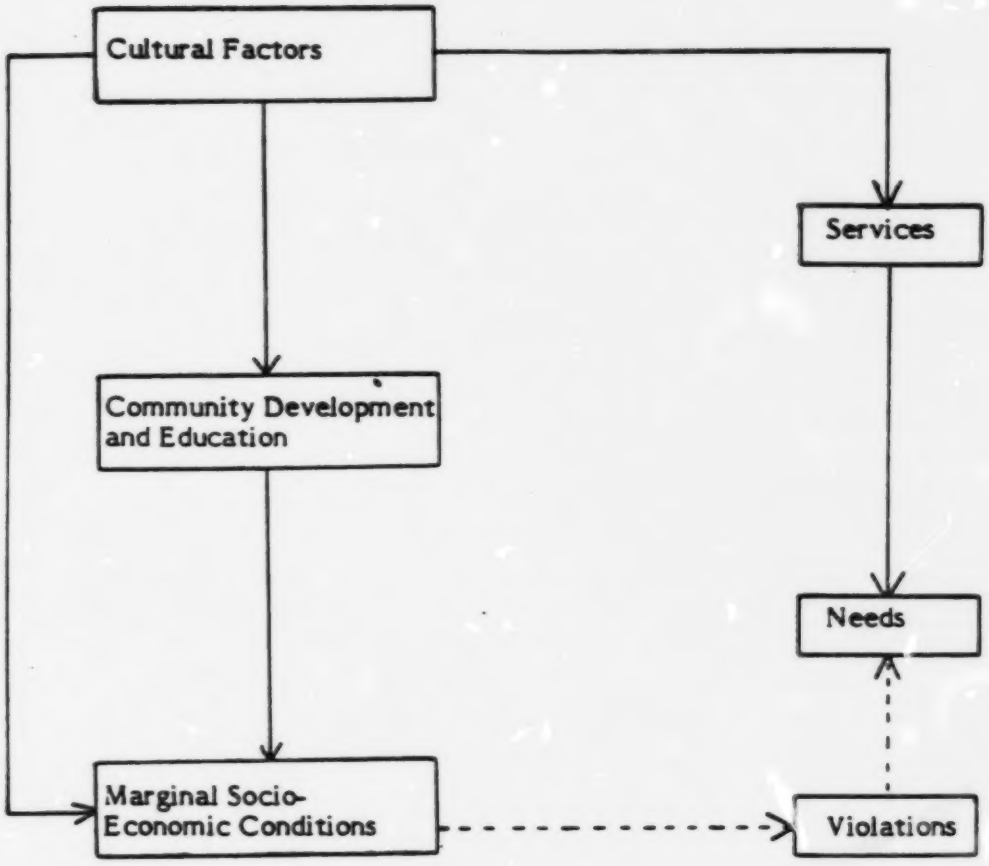

Figure 1: Model representing the interplay of components in addressing victim needs.

improvement of marginal socio-economic conditions. Community based development and education would contribute in the same way.

Corresponding to the model's five conceptual components are five general areas of investigation that will have to be substantiated at the community level. They are as follows:

- the nature and extent of the underlying conditions of socio-economic marginality;
- the nature and extent of violations involving victims;
- the nature and extent of victims' needs arising from the violations;
- the potential for cultural factors to contribute positively to the process of planning victim services;
- the potential for community development and education to contribute to the process of planning victim services. (draft report, p. 12)

As far as research is concerned, this list of areas for investigation implies a number of things. First, certain information (e.g., identification of victims' needs) can be acquired at the level of the individual; however, other areas (e.g., the potential of cultural factors) must be studied at the level of the community. While a survey theoretically could elicit the former set of responses, it could not handle the latter. The complex nature of community level investigation, especially in a difficult area such as culture, requires a flexible approach that

involves individual and group discussions throughout a process in which the researcher combines questioning with various forms of participation and observation.

Second, the list of information areas clearly represents a holistic approach to the issue of victims' needs and service development. The community based investigative process will combine the acquisition of basic knowledge regarding victimization and victims' needs as well as commence the identification of ways in which those needs can be met. Again, especially in Native communities it is difficult and inefficient to try to compartmentalize sets of information needs and to approach the sets in time sequence. A more effective approach — and the one that is most conducive to community input and therefore to local political support — is the approach that focuses intensively on all aspects of the problem in an integrated fashion at the community level.

Recommendation 1:

That the Ministry undertake the study of Native victimization, victims' needs and service development through intensive, integrated community level studies.

Recommendation 2:

That the Ministry employ a community case study approach, rather than attempting a nation-wide sample survey by telephone or mail.

The selection of communities for case study will depend to a large extent on local Native political support for each study. Prior to negotiating local support and involvement, however, it is necessary to select possible case study

communities. The most useful categorization in the selection process is the urban/semi-urban/rural/isolated breakdown:

- urban: cities in which the Native population is less than 5 per cent of the total.
- semi-urban: non-Native communities in which the Native population remains above 5 per cent.
- rural: Native communities accessible by road.
- isolated: Native communities inaccessible by road (may be accessible by air or water).

Recommendation 3:

That the Ministry undertake case studies in four communities, selected according to the urban/semi-urban/rural/isolated breakdown.

The following communities are suggested as possibilities, although the political element has not yet been examined:

- urban: Toronto
- semi-urban: Terrace, B.C.
- rural: a band in Saskatchewan
- isolated: an Eastern Arctic Inuit settlement.

Note that the recommended breakdown will include status Indians, non-status Indians, Inuit and Métis. It will also cover the marginality factor and the range of economic involvement from "traditional" (the Eastern Arctic) to "non-traditional" (Toronto), as well as environmental variation.

The selection of communities to approach for possible involvement in the case study process will first require discussion within the Ministry. Once a short list has been established, contact with local political authorities can be made. The framing of terms of reference for each case study must be done in conjunction with community representatives in order to ensure the relevance of research designs and the ultimate usefulness of the studies to the communities and to the Ministry.

Recommendation 4:

That the Ministry meet with representatives of selected communities to establish terms of reference, and to agree on project control, accountability, the responsibilities of all parties, and the end use of study results.

Requirements for Case Studies

It must be assumed at the outset that neither financial nor time resources are limitless for purposes of victims research. One objective of any research planning therefore is to identify a strategy that will produce the most accurate and usable results with the least cost.

It is estimated that each community case study will require approximately three months; two for field research (individual interviews, meetings, etc.) and one month to cover the researcher's introduction to the community, orientation of research assistants, analysis and report writing.

A principal researcher for each study will be required to take part in initial meetings with community representatives, to undertake fieldwork for eight to

nine weeks, to orientate local research assistants, and to undertake analysis and report writing.

Recommendation 5:

That the Ministry contract four principal researchers to undertake the research, analysis and reporting functions concurrently in the four selected case study communities; and that the Ministry provide funds for hiring two research assistants to be selected by community representatives in each study community.

In terms of costs, the following are the major requirements:

- fees:
  - 4 researchers for approximately 14 weeks each,
  - 8 research assistants for approximately 10 weeks each.

- travel expenses:
  - will depend on communities selected,
  - principal researcher approximately 3 return trips from Ottawa; Ministry staff 1 trip to each of 4 communities for initial negotiations,
  - living expenses for principal researcher while in field.

- other costs:
  - administration, report production, etc.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS AND LINKS TO OTHER STUDY INITIATIVES

In this report it is argued that a sample survey of Native victims is not appropriate. In particular, predictably low response rates to a telephone or mailed survey lead to the suggestion that a community level analysis should be attempted. Further, in light of various reasons for avoiding compartmentalization of research issues, a "holistic" research approach based on selected community case studies is strongly recommended. These case studies will result in a comprehensive understanding of Native Victims needs and possible ways in which to support or develop services to meet those needs.

The research outlined here is linked directly with other initiatives within the Ministry of the Solicitor General, in particular the Native Victims Developmental Project. The recommended case studies complement the theoretical/informational overview described in "Native Victims in Canada: Steps Toward Appropriate and Effective Assistance".

Recommendation 6:

That the Ministry undertake the recommended case studies as the next phase in its Native Victims Developmental Project.

Finally, ongoing research and policy initiatives within the Department of Justice pertain directly to the recommended case studies and the Native Victims Developmental Project. For example, current work regarding young offenders

and the Native Courtworker program both bear on victims' needs and the delivery of assistance services.

Recommendation 7:

That Ministry officials engage in ongoing consultation with their counterparts in the Department of Justice and other government departments to identify and carry out as effectively as possible relevant research and program development.

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